R.L. Copy

MAY, 1954

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

VOL. 6

1

ROAD TO ANOTHER WAR

THE EDITORS

LABOR AND SOCIALISM: A REVEALING INCIDENT

PAUL M. SWEEZY

WORLD EVENTS

SCOTT NEARING

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

A DISCUSSION

EDITORS . . . LEO HUBERMAN . . . PAUL M. SWEEZY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

VOLUME SIX NUMBER ONE MAY 1954

REVIEW OF THE MONTH: The Road to Another War 1
CARTOON by Fred Wright 6
LABOR AND SOCIALISM: A REVEALING INCIDENT by Paul M. Sweezy 7
PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM: A Discussion 12
ADVICE TO GRADUATING CLASSES by John Jay Chapman 26
WORLD EVENTS by Scott Nearing 28
CONTEST WINNER 34
ON THE OPPENHEIMER CASE 35
WHERE WE STAND by The Editors 36
SALE—BACK ISSUES 38

MONTHLY REVIEW: Published monthly and copyright, 1954, by Monthly Review, Inc.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 218 West 10th Street, New York 14, New York. Telephone: ORegon 5-6939.
MAILING ADDRESS: 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, New York. Address ALL communications to 66 Barrow Street.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: One year—$3.00 (foreign, $3.50); two years—$5.00 (foreign $6.00).
By 1st class mail — United States $5; everywhere else $6.
By air mail — No. America $7; So. America $13; Europe $17; Asia $24.
EDITORS: Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy.

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

The first issue of MR appeared in May, 1949. This issue therefore marks the magazine's fifth birthday. To celebrate the happy event, the Associates are holding a meeting on May 20th in New York to which all subscribers and friends are cordially invited. Leo Huberman and Scott Nearing, fresh from nation-wide speaking tours, will report their impressions and conclusions, with LH concentrating on "The Repression" and SN on "The Resistance." Paul Sweezy, fresh from burrowing in the latest statistics, will discuss "The Economy." For full details, see the announcement on the inside back cover.

A birthday also marks the beginning of a new volume—this time Volume VI—and the expiration of a large number of subscriptions. May we ask you as part of the festivities to have a look at the address on the envelope in which this copy reaches you and, if it is marked "Apr 54," to take immediate steps to stay on the subscription rolls?

(*continued on inside back cover*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ROAD TO ANOTHER WAR

The Calcutta *Statesman* of February 26, 1954, carried a dispatch, marked "Exclusive from *The Times,* London," dealing with the situation in Indo-China. After noting Nehru's appeal for a cease-fire, the report proceeded as follows:

> At the moment, among informed quarters in Paris, emphasis is upon the political situation in Vietnam. Though no French politician could do otherwise than welcome publicly the possibility of an armistice and settlement, there is no mistaking the private anxiety of those who know the picture at first hand.
>
> The truth is that the Buu Loc government in Vietnam has been a sad disillusionment to the French who now see that in such circumstances there would be no hope for making Vietnam "safe for democracy." The Buu Loc government has failed to rally popular opinion, and those Vietnamese who prefer to wait and see are more numerous than ever.
>
> In these conditions, a peace settlement followed by elections would almost certainly result in a bloodless victory for Dr. Ho Chi Minh; Vietnam would fall like a ripe plum into the hands from which French effort and French blood have for eight years protected it.
>
> The need to discover someone more capable of rallying and fortifying the Vietnam people is therefore urgent, though this is easier said than done. Though perhaps Western tolerance might be strained to breaking point if it were called upon to support two Syngman Rhees, that is the type of man whose energy and patriotism are beyond doubt who now seems to be needed in Vietnam.

But time has run out for the French politicians. They have had eight years in which to fight and maneuver in Indo-China, and the results have been uniformly disastrous. The patience of the French people has finally been exhausted: to find a way out is now an absolute must for any French government. This was for the first time publicly admitted by a Prime Minister when Laniel spoke in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chamber of Deputies on March 9th, declaring that while formerly many Frenchmen "believed in the possibility of victory through force of arms," by now parliamentary opinion "was unanimous in wanting to see the war settled by the path of negotiations." (Quoted in *L'Observateur*, March 11.) In French politics, unanimity is a rare phenomenon, not lightly to be disregarded.

This, then, is the French dilemma: no French government could refuse to negotiate, and yet any negotiated settlement would be tantamount to a victory for the Vietminh. It is this, much more than the military situation on the spot, that has brought the Indo-China situation to the state of crisis.

At first sight, it would appear that the only way out is to go ahead and negotiate, cutting losses and incidentally saving anything that can still be saved from the debacle. But if France were to follow this course, she would come into head-on conflict with United States policy—a policy which has been in the making for several years and was loudly proclaimed as long ago as last August 4th when President Eisenhower told a conference of state governors that "losing" Indo-China would be "of most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get things we need from the riches of . . . southeast Asia." A French government of the Left might be willing to brave American displeasure, but certainly no government based on the parliamentary majority that supports Laniel and Bidault would be willing to do so—this majority, in fact, is held together by American aid and nothing else.

So *for the present government,* or one like it, the only way out of the Indo-China dilemma is barred and locked, and this in turn seems to mean that *for France* the only solution is to get a new government which will be prepared to negotiate in good faith even at the cost of losing American aid and incurring American enmity.

Against this background we can understand the true meaning of Secretary of State Dulles' speech to the Overseas Press Club on March 29th. Addressing himself to the problem of Indo-China, and with the express purpose of "clarify[ing] further the United States position," Mr. Dulles said:

> Under the conditions of today, the imposition on Southeast Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally, *by whatever means,* would be a grave threat to the whole free community. The United States feels that that possibility should not be passively accepted, but should be met by united action. This might involve serious risks. But these risks are far less than those that will face us a few years from now, if we dare not be resolute today. (Emphasis added.)

A careless reading of the passage might give the impression that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is a warning to "Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally," but this is certainly not the case. They have been warned plenty of times before by Mr. Dulles not to send their armies into Indo-China, and this in spite of the fact that they have never shown the slightest disposition to do so. In other words, there has never really been any question of the imposition of Communism on Indo-China by outside military force, and one more American admonition on this score would not have contributed an iota to the "further" clarification of the United States position.

But if the passage is not directed to Moscow and Peking, it must be directed either to Paris or to the American people or to both. And in fact a little reflection will quickly convince us that it is directed to both.

The italicized words—*by whatever means*—are the key to Mr. Dulles' message to Paris. The United States, he is saying, will not allow you to negotiate a settlement of the war with the Vietminh. And to the American people, the talk about risks can have but one meaning: we are embarking on a course that is likely to lead to the involvement of American soldiers in another shooting war. Further, the two messages taken together add up to an invitation to the French government to seek a new way out of its dilemma: by strongly hinting that the United States is prepared to fight if necessary, Paris is in effect being urged to *make* it necessary. The French government can now say, with perfect logic, "The French people insist on getting out of this war, and if you want to keep us from negotiating a peace you will have to take over the fighting yourselves." Mr. Dulles can then go before the American people and claim that France has presented the United States with an ultimatum: either send in American armed forces or Indo-China will be turned over to the Communists.

This undoubtedly clever maneuver is clearly designed to get the French government off the hook (and thus keep it in power and save the European Defense Community), and at the same time to create a situation in which the American people will be faced with the virtual *fait accompli* of involvement in a new war. Meanwhile, Dulles is going all out to condition public opinion in this country for what is coming: his performance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on April 5th was as slick (and as transparent in purpose) as any ever put on by the high-pressure boys from Madison Avenue. The creation of an atmosphere of emergency by hinting that Indo-China might be on the verge of "falling" (which is nonsense), the arch refusal to deny that the United States might intervene alone, the "ominous" top-secret intelligence report of Chinese military personnel at Dienbienphu (how easy it is to pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duce intelligence reports and how impossible to check their accuracy!)—these are typical of the tactics that Dulles is using to shock, scare, wheedle, and cajole the American people into accepting the burdens and sorrows of a new war.

But perhaps there will be no war? Perhaps Mr. Dulles' threats of military intervention and "instant retaliation," underlined by the awesome H-bomb explosions in the Pacific, will be enough to decide the issue?

One can easily imagine that thinking in Washington is running along these lines. The reasoning is likely to be somewhat as follows: China cannot afford another war on the scale of Korea. If she is confronted with the alternative of cutting off aid to the Vietminh or fighting and having her own cities bombed, she will cut off aid. In this connection, we have recently been reminded by the pundits of the press that massive United States intervention in Greece was followed by Soviet abandonment of Markos and the Greek guerillas. Deprived of outside assistance, the Vietminh will be incapable of anything more than harassing operations, and to counter these what will be needed is not French or American soldiers (as eight years of French failure testify) but a vigorous nationalist regime in Indo-China furnished with an American-trained and American-equipped army. What will be needed, to quote again the words of the Calcutta *Statesman,* is another Syngman Rhee—a "democratic" tyrant, an "independent" puppet.

What are the chances that it will really work out this way?

Very small, it seems to us.

The problem is not whether a Syngman Rhee can be found and outfitted with the requisite instruments of slaughter and oppression. Perhaps one can be: we do not pretend to know. But we very much doubt that China can be frightened into abandoning her Vietminh ally.

The Greek example is highly misleading. Greece was outside the Soviet security zone as defined by Churchill and Stalin in October 1944; there were only a few tens of thousands of guerillas; they were supported not by the Soviet Union directly but by Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; and, last but not least, the abandonment of Markos was inextricably tied up with the quarrel between Tito and the Cominform.

Conditions are wholly different in Indo-China. That country is as crucial to Chinese security as Korea or any other contiguous areas; the Vietminh is a deeply rooted popular movement which was once recognized by France itself as the legitimate government of Vietnam; it supported itself without any outside aid for four years before the Chinese red armies reached the border; its recognition by China was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wholly legal by accepted standards of international law, and China has the same right to furnish economic and military assistance that the United States claims vis-à-vis France and a score of other states around the world; there is nothing remotely resembling the Tito-Cominform quarrel to complicate Chinese-Vietminh relations.

Under these circumstances, Chinese abandonment of the Vietminh would be exactly like Anglo-French abandonment of Czechoslovakia at Munich in 1938: it would be a classic case of appeasement, of knuckling under to the threat of force. No matter how anxious they are to avoid war—and we have no doubt that they are as anxious as it is possible for the responsible leaders of a great country to be—we do not believe for a moment that the Chinese government can afford to appease a power which, according to all evidence, is determined to destroy the Chinese Revolution (remember that it was John Foster Dulles himself who stated in no uncertain terms, when the Japanese Peace Treaty was up for ratification, that "we must and can assume that there will be a change from the present China situation").

We Americans have had it dinned into our heads for years now that "appeasement doesn't pay." Those who shout the loudest willfully confound appeasement with negotiation and compromise, but they do so precisely because the principle is sound. No, appeasement *doesn't* pay. And the Chinese know it as well as anyone else.

The Dulles road is the road to war. American intervention will be matched by Chinese intervention, American soldiers by Chinese soldiers, Sabres by MIGs, until. . . . Until when?

Until another country has been devastated, more millions have been slaughtered, and another bloody stalemate has been reached, as in Korea?

Or until the men of Washington go mad and, following the logic of the doctrine of "instant retaliation at times and places of our own choosing," drop the bombs that touch off World War III and herald the suicide of civilized mankind?

These are the grim destinations to which the Dulles road can lead.

And yet it must be said that it is not too late to turn back. If America's allies, whom Dulles is now trying to dragoon into a united war front, will say "no" and mean it, the outlook would alter. The American ruling class, or at any rate that massive segment of it for which the Eisenhower administration speaks, is genuinely afraid of being isolated on the international stage. A flat refusal of international sanction for United States intervention in the Indo-China war would certainly make our rulers pause and think. It might even turn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them—doubtless slowly and probably resisting at every step—towards a policy of honorable compromise with China on the basis of the genuine security interests and the relative military strengths of the two greatest Pacific powers.

(April 10, 1954)

WE MAY AS WELL RAISE HELL NOW, FELLERS, WE'RE GONNA GET IT IN A FEW YEARS ANYHOW!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR AND SOCIALISM: A REVEALING INCIDENT

BY PAUL M. SWEEZY

The report of the Randall Commission on Foreign Economic Policy (released on January 23, 1954) contains an extremely interesting exchange of views among various members of the Commission.

Including the Chairman and the Vice Chairman, the Commission had seventeen members, exactly one of whom came from the labor movement. That one, David McDonald of the Steelworkers, is well known as one of the most conservative of the CIO leaders; on most questions he either went along with the majority of the Commission or expressed individual views which raised no important questions of principle. But on one issue, McDonald took a stand which was unanimously and ostentatiously rejected by the rest of the Commission and on which no fewer than seven members felt it necessary to make specific comments (there is nothing comparable in the remainder of the report).

What was this issue on which the representative of labor found himself in a minority of one, and why did it call forth such a vigorous response from the non-labor members?

The issue, which seems to have found a place in the report only because of McDonald's insistence (or persistence), is a simple one. In the report it goes under the title of "Adjustment to Increased Imports" and may be defined as follows: Suppose tariffs were lowered so far as to inflict definite injury on some firms, workers, and communities—an effect which is definitely contemplated in some of the Commission's recommendations. What policy, if any, should the federal government pursue in such cases?

To this question McDonald answered (in a three-page statement which is included in the report) that the government has a positive responsibility to those injured by tariff cuts, and he therefore proposed an integrated set of measures designed to discharge this responsibility. Called an "Adjustment Assistance Program," it would provide technical and financial assistance to firms and communities desiring to convert to new products, special unemployment insurance and retraining facilities for workers affected, and assistance to workers in finding and moving to new jobs.

A modest program, certainly, and one which, as far as the in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dividual measures are concerned, keeps well within currently recognized and operative limits of government action. This was specifically pointed out in several of the separate statements commenting on the McDonald proposal; for example Messrs. Parker, Bush, and Vorys had the following to say:

> Various forms of government aid are now available to all industries and their workers threatened with injury from technological advancement, style changes, or other causes. These aids include, for workers, unemployment insurance, employment information, placement and training from the Department of Labor; for industry, technical advice from the Department of Commerce, preference in federal procurement and loans from the Small Business Administration.

Why, then, all the excitement about the McDonald program? Why not recognize it as a mere extension of existing governmental responsibilities to an area of special hardship?

The reason is intimated, though not spelled out, in the following passage of the whole Commission's report:

> In a free economy, some displacement of workers and some injury to institutions is unavoidable. It may come about through technological change, alterations in consumer preferences, exhaustion of a mineral resource, new inventions, new taxes, or many other causes. *Since it has never been seriously proposed that the burden of all such injury arising in a free economy should be assumed by the government,* the Commission felt that it was not appropriate to propose such a plan in the tariff area only. (Emphasis added.)

In other words, the Commission felt that the adoption of the McDonald program, far from being a mere extension of existing governmental responsibilities, would set a precedent which, if logically followed up, would completely transform the relation of the government to the economy.

The Commission as a whole did not attempt to discuss the character or desirability of such a transformation, but we would probably not be far wrong in assuming that the remarks of Senator Millikin on this point reveal thoughts that were in the minds of many of the members. It may therefore be worthwhile to quote at some length from Senator Millikin's statement:*

> I am opposed to the proposal made by one of the able members of the Commission that the federal government should give

* In the main, Senator Millikin's statement is a dissent from the recommendations of the report, but on the issue which interests us here his position is, of course, in agreement with that of the majority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assistance in the ways indicated to communities, employers and workers who have been injured by tariff changes.

It strikes me as an infringement on human dignity and our conception of individual freedom to set up in this country a system of central planning which would remove workers out of their home communities, their home jobs, their churches, recreations, and away from lifelong friendships.

* * *

The destruction of one or two small industries and consequent rehabilitation of a few small communities, according to the expectations of those who propose such relief techniques, might appear inconsequential both as to damage to morale and as to the cost to the government of relocation and rehabilitation.

But it should be easy to see that to start on that course puts us on a road that has no ending. Our entire body of customs controls could be abolished on the theory that this type of planning and government intervention would be a suitable substitute for, and would rectify, the disastrous injuries.

Of course, styles change and jobs shift—and without government intervention; mines become exhausted and new ones must be searched for and opened; consumers shift from their preference for one product to a preference for another, and jobs are lost and new ones created. Production centers of particular industries shift from one area of the country to another, and labor and capital must follow or shift to the making of other articles.

However, there is much difference in the American worker's view toward his own government and our political system and his conception of individual freedom and dignity according to whether his difficulties are created by the vagaries of demand and supply or whether he is being pushed around by a central government trying to play the deity with our economic system.

A proponent of the McDonald plan would, of course, find it easy enough to criticize this statement. The purpose is naturally not to "remove workers out of their home communities, their home jobs," and so on, but to help *unemployed* workers to get new jobs and to move to new communities only if they find it impossible to find work in their old communities. Moreover, the appropriate choice from the worker's point of view is not between being pushed around by "the vagaries of supply and demand" on the one hand and being pushed around by "a central government trying to play the deity" on the other, but between being pushed around by the one and protected by the other.

But these are essentially quibbles. At bottom, what bothers Senator Millikin, and doubtless most of the other members of the Commission, is an irrepressible feeling that injuries inflicted by tariff cuts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are only one relatively minor species of a huge genus, that if you grant special governmental assistance in the one case there is no logical stopping place short of a central planning system for the whole economy.

Socialists, it seems to me, can only agree that Senator Millikin is 100-percent right. The anarchy of capitalist production has a thousand and one facets. You can provide certain *general* cushions and shock-absorbers to make the system more palatable to its victims, but once you go beyond that and start trying to deal with individual cases you will find that you are logically committed to a repudiation of the anarchic system itself. If the victims of tariff cuts deserve special consideration, how about the Black Belt cotton cultivators who have been left stranded by the westward movement of cotton culture? And if destitute cotton cultivators deserve special consideration, how about the New England mill hands who have been left stranded by the southward movement of cotton manufacturing? And if all these groups deserve special consideration, how about the millions who periodically suffer from prolonged unemployment because of the booms and busts of the capitalist business cycle? Once you start there is literally no end, short of the establishment of machinery for the equitable protection of the interests of *all* producers against the hazards of an unplanned system. And what does this mean if not the replacement of no-planning by planning? What's more, the inescapable logic of the situation goes further: planning implies control and control depends on ownership, from which it follows that a publicly planned system of production requires public ownership of the means of production. But public planning plus public ownership equals socialism.

If this analysis is correct, Senator Millikin and his fifteen nonlabor colleagues on the Randall Commission were certainly justified in getting excited about McDonald's seemingly modest proposal. They represent the class that benefits from capitalism. Their attachment to the system is undoubtedly deep-rooted and genuine. They recognize—some of them intuitively, some rationally—a threat to the system when they see it, and they waste no time in springing to the defense.

And what are we to say of McDonald, the minority of one who represented the American working class on the Randall Commission? Certainly not that he is a socialist or aware of the socialist implications of his proposed "Adjustment Assistance Program." McDonald's subjective attachment to capitalism is doubtless as sincere as that of any of his colleagues on the Commission. What we can say, however, is that even a conservative labor leader, when he defends the interests of the workers he represents (as McDonald unquestionably was doing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in this case), unconsciously slips into modes of thought which, if pursued, lead with stern logic to socialism as the system which meets the needs and aspirations of the working class.

THE AMERICAN WAY

. . . The opponents of giving free enterprise greater latitude in the atomic energy program point to the nearly 13 *billions of dollars that will have been spent in the field of atomic energy by the American taxpayers, including this fiscal year. They cry aloud that it would be foolhardy to turn over such an investment to private enterprise. . . .*

We should not forget the billions of dollars of tax money spent in developing the airplane, the turbine and diesel engines, and in many other fields of industrial development, that were later turned over to free enterprise for further improvement and development for the benefit of mankind. . . .

As I have previously mentioned, as of June 30, 1954, *the American people will have spent close to* 13 *billion dollars primarily in the development of atomic weapons. To finance the added expense in developing the peacetime program would cost the American taxpayer billions of dollars more. To saddle this additional burden on the already over-burdened American taxpayer is unthinkable, especially when private industry can be called upon to share some of this burden in dollars and cents, as well as employing its scientific and engineering brains, in further solving the mysteries of the atom. . . .*

One frequently hears the question—"Is private industry ready to assume its role in the development of peacetime uses of atomic energy?" Based on the hearings last summer, there is evidence that there are scores of firms eager to make their contribution to the industrial future of atomic energy.

Because of the terrific cost in the beginning, private industry may not be able to shoulder the burden. This means that the government will have to share the initial costs during the experimental years. However, after acquiring the necessary knowledge and experience, the genius of our American free enterprise system will enable it to do as it has on other occasions when working with the government, and take over the industrial development program. . . .

—Address by Representative James E. Van Zandt (Pa.) member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, at 18th Congress of American Industry sponsored by the NAM, December 4, 1953

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

In the January, 1954, issue of MR we published three articles under the heading "Problems of American Socialism,"* inviting readers to participate in discussion of the "problems they raise, or of related problems which they do *not* specifically consider." Below we print a small but representative selection from the contributions submitted in answer to this invitation. We begin with excerpts from one which gives a convenient, if not entirely sympathetic, summary of the main arguments of two of the January articles. In every case, omissions are indicated by the customary three dots (". . ."). We originally intended to conclude with our own reflections on the issues which aroused the greatest amount of controversy, but for reasons of space have been unable to do so in this issue. We have therefore postponed our own contribution to the discussion until the June issue.

We would be less than frank if we did not state at the outset that we were not greatly impressed with the general level of the discussion pieces, though of course they include many sound observations and a few original ideas and insights. On the whole, and probably not surprisingly, present conditions in this country do not seem to be conducive to creative thought on the problems of the socialist movement. For this reason we do not plan to continue this particular discussion, though we shall always be glad to publish any material that seems valuable under the general heading of "Problems of American Socialism."—THE EDITORS

NO SHORT CUTS

By A Los Angeles Subscriber

"Special Correspondent" in his article, "Politics and the Proletariat," seems to find an almost masochistic pleasure in trying to "prove" not only his thesis "that the American working class is not now, and will not be in the foreseeable future, material for a Labor Party, not to mention a socialist movement," but even that the American worker is Republican, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, pro-McCarthy, and fascist to boot.

He is basing his conclusions on observations he was able to make during a short period when he worked as an excavation laborer in New York, his regular profession being that of a university professor, according to an editorial note.

---

* *"Politics and the Proletariat,* 1953," *by a Special Correspondent; "What Ails American Socialism?" by George Woodard; and "Socialism Is Constitutional," by George Olshausen.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

His co-workers in this adventure into the field of labor were, according to his description, a mixed lot of Irish, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians, and a few Negroes. Their religion was predominantly Roman Catholic. Their basic prejudices seemed to be rooted in national and racial bias; their education, if anything, below the average. Working with these men and observing among other things the influence of Catholic literature, the comics, and television on their thinking, "Special Correspondent" comes to the conclusion that "there cannot be a successful politics dependent on working class support," that these workers cannot be re-oriented and that therefore "socialists should cease to talk in terms of broad political movements or of broad appeals to a hostile or indifferent mass of citizens." He wants socialists to "resign themselves to the position of a permanent minority" and leaves the reader with the, of course, unanswered question: "How and under what conditions does a permanent political minority acquire political power?"

If this is meant as a kind of shock treatment to force people to think, then the place to try out this psychological experiment should be sought elsewhere, not in *Monthly Review*. If it is meant as an epitaph to the shattered hopes of the author, shattered by the direct impact of physical contact with the American worker, then one can only sympathize.

George Woodard in the same issue under the title "What Ails American Socialism?" tries a different and much more constructive approach. He is willing to face the indisputable fact that the American people today as a whole are not only non-socialist, but anti-socialist, but he proposes to analyze the reasons for this attitude in order to discover more effective methods for the building of a socialist movement. What he calls the "legend" enveloping American life, and illustrated by Lincoln's speech at Hartford in 1860, is correctly analyzed in the special circumstances surrounding the growth of American capitalism. So is the fact that these circumstances are fast becoming a thing of the past.

If and when depression strikes, as it must, the attitude of the American worker will change. It is correct to point out, as Mr. Woodard does, that such a change could turn towards demagogy, and I would add even toward fascism, if that position of hostility toward socialism still exists at that moment.

Woodard's thesis that the absence of an organization "to make socialism meaningful to the American people" has prevented the success of any attempt to overcome this hostility toward socialism, and his further claim that the absorption with the struggle for immediate goals has led the American Communists to neglect the task of basic education for socialism, can be granted within limits. This task has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often been neglected, and one could even concede that where it was tried a sort of secret language was used that remained understandable only to the hard core of the initiated.

But I cannot follow the author's light dismissal as not more than a "naive faith," of the conviction, held by the Communists, that the struggle for immediate issues will lead people to an understanding of the need for socialism. Nowhere in the history of the labor movement have the masses been awakened to a class-conscious understanding for this need for socialism except in the daily fight for immediate goals, but also—and this seems to me an important point—by what we may call the growing appetite that comes with eating, whenever they were partially successful. Where I must disagree with Woodard is when he speaks of the necessity to understand the nature of political power in a country like the United States and extols the worn-out theory of American "exceptionalism.". . .

What then can be done? I am afraid there is no short cut. Development of class-consciousness among the American workers by a patient and unwavering educational process is still the only way to lay a firm foundation for a socialist movement in this country. This educational process must go on on two levels simultaneously, that of socialist theory and that of socialist action in the daily struggle for immediate goals. The language used in this education must be one that is understandable to everyone. The attitude of the socialists towards their temporary and their permanent allies, in the necessary coalition of political forces for the development of a truly alternative program to that of the two traditional parties, must be one of trust and honest cooperation. The treasure house of American tradition of the truly popular movements in our past, especially where these movements were based on a worker-farmer alliance, must be used extensively, rather than the imitation of methods and forms of organization developed in other parts of the world and based, as they are, on often entirely different factors of tradition and environment. . . .

ATTITUDE VS. BEHAVIOR

By A Detroiter

Although there is a great tendency among social scientists in academic circles to arrive at dismal conclusions by use of a dubious methodology, I do not believe that the labor movement can be considered "gone with the McCarthy wind," at least, not primarily be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cause AFL building trade workers currently exhibit evidence of aggressive impulses, sadistic tendencies, and authoritarian identifications, as the author of "Politics and the Proletariat" suggests.

The point of contention revolves around the author's "impressionistic" method which is "unsupported by statistics, polls, systematic interviews or analysis of documents." Even if his method were verified by his suggested list of analytical tools, my convictions would not change.

Interviews, public opinion polls, and statistical methods which leave vivid impressions have become the sole means to truth-seeking in the academic quarters of social scientists. This is also true of the more commercialized analyzing agencies. In colloquial terms, "they can't see farther than their noses." The evolution of society would have evolved "beautifully" if every significant political movement required first a public opinion poll as to its validity and permanent qualities.

I am a native Detroiter, have worked during the past four years intermittently at five different automobile plants, one small machine shop, and live in a mixed working-class community. Not a day passes that I do not hear a derogatory remark toward some ethnic group, especially Negroes. Furthermore, studies have been and are being developed presently which verify, although not unqualifiedly, that many CIO workers express animosity toward Negroes, Poles, Italians, and Jews. What conclusion can I make from these glaring social "facts"?

To accept the "scientific" studies which I read with my own eyes, and believe the voices which I hear with my own ears as conclusive evidence determining the working-class interpretation of future events, would be a serious error.

In the automobile factories where you find a large number of Negro and Polish workers, plus other ethnic minorities in considerable quantity, one discovers a glaring contrast between the worker's attitude and his *behavior*. A white worker damns a Negro verbally and balks because a Jew outsmarted him, but nevertheless proceeds to participate in some comradely horseplay, followed by a treat to coffee during lunch. Much of the expressed prejudice is ritualistic and over a period of time is contradicted in many ways.

This discrepancy between *activity* and *expressed feelings* characterizes large segments of working-class life. What to do about this contradiction is another question, but certainly an attitude frequently denied behaviorally, is not scientific proof.

According to our social science friend, the Left ought to concentrate their energies upon converting

the man or woman who is in the best position for influencing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> others . . . civil servants or professional men or women or trade union or co-operative leaders . . . parsons . . . speakers with a gift for moving men . . . local government or social service workers . . . shop stewards . . . businessmen . . . scientists . . . teachers . . . students.

I am fairly certain that if we undertook scientific polls, we would discover less expressed prejudice and more rational awareness (perhaps) among the middle classes than among the working class. I'm also fairly certain that these people behaviorally, for the most part, live in restricted neighborhoods, see that their children interact with only the "proper" kind, and enjoy eating and working with the "respectable" people. "Restricted, proper, and respectable" mean more than accustomed to a relatively high standard of living; they also involve religious, ethnic, and racial biases which are *practiced* but not always expressed.

I do not mean to suggest to our social science friend that attitudes are completely irrelevant, that the middle classes should be ignored, and that scientific tools such as interviewing, poll-taking, and statisticizing are meaningless. The Left has made some drastic mistakes, but the correction of those mistakes is not in the direction of the proposed Fabian solution. I don't think socialism can be made respectable until it first becomes part of working-class ideology.

To evaluate the Left's future properly, we must consider its past and present policies in order to discern why they have not reached the working class; the present place of the American people, both as expressed in attitude and practiced behaviorally; and the objective economic and political facts of the domestic and international situation, which, I might add, mean that the ruling-class can afford neither war nor depression. This fact, in addition to the relatively strong position of the socialist countries, spells out a situation much different from that which led to World War II. There are coming shortly opportunities for a revitalized Left, if the correct orientation is pursued.

"...DEEPLY RESENTED."

By A California Subscriber

For my own educational needs, the piece by George Olshausen was a big help. Mr. Woodard's article was about the best thing I have seen on the American Left in relation to today's situation. Its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only weakness was its shortness. My only criticism—not because you published it but criticism of the piece itself—is of the article on "Politics and the Proletariat" which, as a working person, I deeply resented. I am not so quick to say that all of us working people are imbecilic and should look to professional middle-class leaders for salvation. Those people are the small army of forever protectors of the present system. If the writer has given up on there being any hope in the working class, then my advice to him is to give up completely.

FOURTEEN THESES ON AMERICAN SOCIALISM

By Hugh Weston

(1) There are millions of Americans who are sufficiently oppressed by racial and religious discriminations, by economic poverty, and by cultural and psychological disturbances to work for and support the building of a socialist . . . America. . . .

(2) The coming period will be a period of intensified economic and political disorder, and the numbers of these people will increase. If the coming disorders take place in an open and relatively free political atmosphere, these numbers will express themselves openly. If the coming disorders take place in a closed or "fascist" political atmosphere, the numbers will not be readily apparent, but will be potentially apparent, nevertheless.

(3) The Communist Party is the only political party so organized in America as to be prepared for some degree of leadership over these potential millions. The fact that there are not millions today voting for a socialist party is in part due to failures by the Communist Party to meet the American scene, even as it has failed to meet, for example, the British scene. Communism as represented by Moscow, has been unable to adapt to democratic, Protestant, countries. It refuses, by and large, partly for historical reasons, to acknowledge the idea of liberty and the idea of equality, except in name.

(4) The Socialist Party, the Union for Democratic Socialism, the Socialist Workers Party, the World Socialist Party, the International Socialist League, and the many other small groups are strictly sectarian groups. . . .

(5) Most "socialists," today, are sitting back, waiting for the

Hugh Weston is a Unitarian Minister in Boston.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trade union movement to do something—such as establishing a "Labor Party." It is unlikely that the trade unions will do this, except as the result of a long period of agitation within the trade unions by militant socialists. . . .

(6) What is needed immediately, therefore, is not another political party, but a broad socialist movement to work within the trade unions, within churches and all people's organizations, to advance the idea of socialism.

(7) A beginning toward this can be made, at once, by calling for all-socialist discussion and action groups, to which both socialists and non-socialists may be invited, and in which socialist discussion and agitation may begin. . . .

(8) All types of socialists and liberals should be welcomed into these socialist discussion and action groups in all cities, factories, and so on. All types of literature should be circulated, and Americans should be educated on the reasons for the failure thus far of American socialism, on the ideas and ideals of democratic socialism and democratic communism.

(9) Militant socialists in these discussion and action groups should conduct a struggle against the opportunism of replacing the struggle for socialism with a struggle for minor reforms. They should also conduct a struggle against the sectarianism of replacing the struggle for reforms with a purist struggle for socialism. Socialism should be first on the agenda; this should be followed by the supporting struggle for reforms.

(10) Militant socialists in these groups should work toward the eventual creation of an organized socialist movement in America. . . . This socialist movement should not be tied down to formulas or dogmatics. It should resist, for example, attempts to make it into a strictly atheist and materialist organization. . . .

(11) Some such name as "American Commonwealth Movement," or "People's Free Socialist Movement" should be selected to characterize this movement. . . .

(12) This movement, or the discussion and action groups which should precede it, should make an effort to develop the framework of "all-city people's councils" in all major cities. . . . These should not be socialist councils at all, but, in time of change and crisis, can become effective organizations for militant socialist action. In the meantime, they will be excellent areas for educational and agitational work. . . .

(13) The socialist movement, itself, should concentrate on only a few very important congressional elections, unless necessary to prevent open fascism. Although this movement is the legal and demo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cratic expression of the socialist intellectuals and of their working-class allies, its main effort must be in advocating socialism and in working for a labor party based on the trade unions. . . .

(14) Further solutions to the unemployment problem in terms of further Koreas, are becoming every year more difficult for the upper classes and their allies among the workers and intellectuals. The socialist solution, the only true solution, the only intelligent solution for modern man, is increasingly demanding a place on the agenda of American history. The failure of American socialism has been a shameful debacle. But a new beginning can and must be made for the building of a truly democratic, and truly "idealistic" socialism, which will lead on to "idealistic" Communism, a perfect brotherhood of man with man. This brotherhood of love cannot be built on ideas of repression and terror, as orthodox Communists have tried to build it all too often. It cannot be built, on the other hand, on Utopian and pacifist illusions. There is the most splendid heritage of history awaiting our study as a basis for fresh, new, militant socialist action. I am confident that a sincere and heartfelt study of this great heritage of spiritual values, of liberty, and of socialist economics will lead the intellectuals of America to make common cause with their working-class brothers and to build, with them, a society of peace, love, friendship, food, and freedom, that will fulfill man's greatest and most ancient dreams.

THE ERRORS OF MR. WOODARD

By A New York Subscriber

Mr. George Woodard analyzes the American political scene and comes up with the general thesis that the anti-socialist attitude present among American workers results "primarily from the absence of any organization which devotes itself to the task of making socialism meaningful to Americans while basing itself upon political realities in the United States."

It is because I agree with the general Marxian precept that before we can act intelligently we must have proper understanding that I think the very basic errors contained in Mr. Woodard's analysis need discussion and, above all, re-evaluation.

I shall not attempt in this brief communication to disprove Mr. Woodard's main contention by entering into a lengthy analysis of the history of the American Communist Party or any other leftist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organization of magnitude to show that *by and large* their approach to the American working class has not been consistently committed to a "practical" point of view. I sincerely doubt that this implication of Mr. Woodard's holds true. And even if it ever was true, the reason was certainly not simply because the American Communist Party never thought to put into practice what Mr. Woodard admits it accepted in theory.

In general terms, the American Left abandoned attempts to bring people into contact with a broader viewpoint whenever it was felt that the larger issues of socialism were so unacceptable to the majority of the working people (as at present: see, for example, "Politics and the Proletariat, 1953") that appeals had to be formulated in terms of immediate objectives—issues upon which there could be little disagreement.

Such shifts from a broader to a more "practical" approach to the working class have been adopted by the Left precisely in order to keep alive that intelligent core, which Mr. Woodard approves of, which will be capable of surviving the present danger. . . .

Another point is that the working class, consciously whipped into an anti-socialist attitude by the federal government, has to be won back by the immediate and practical accomplishments of the American Left. And if fixing broken toilets will achieve this, then by all means let us look into our toilets more closely.

The weakness of Mr. Woodard's position, and one unfortunately not confined to him alone, is that such a position denies the genius of Lenin. For Lenin above all others knew at what moments to theorize and at what moments in history to be "practical."

The anti-socialism of today's worker has, I feel, a great deal less to do with the functioning, or malfunctioning, of any socialist organization than it has to do with a changing America.

In pursuing the question of anti-socialism, Mr. Woodard resoundingly blames the American worker for not fulfilling his historic role. He says that "the American worker knows quite well that the main reason why there is no other choice [political alternative] is that he himself is not really interested in having one." If this were only true, how simple things would really be! The crux of the matter is that the American worker does not yet realize that the working class can initiate political change by action corporately since the American worker does not yet think of himself as a member of a class with different economic interests from other sectors of society. And this is so because the worker does not yet recognize that the interests of labor and capital are historically incompatible. For these reasons he does not yet accept working-class leaders and look towards a working-class philosophy as a way out of the bankruptcy of capitalism. And this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is so, primarily, because the working class is not yet convinced of the bankruptcy of capitalism. Now let us briefly examine some of the reasons why this is so.

The economic situation which in the early days of American capitalism produced a nonsocialist attitude on the part of the worker has not entirely disappeared. It is not true that only the *ideology* of the "widespread American idea of the son rising to a higher economic level than the father" exists; the *fact* exists too, though of course with much less truth than in previous periods. Economic mobility, in the United States of 1954, is still a long way from becoming simply a frontier tale. . . .

Another point has to do with continued immigration into the United States and the development of a Negro and Puerto Rican bourgeoisie. As long as new ethnic sources of labor pour into the country to take the lowest paid jobs while previous immigrant and minority groups manage, in sufficient numbers, to advance to better paying jobs, social statuses will resist becoming frozen.

Most European countries, where strong labor parties and class consciousness exist, are characterized by the very opposite situation. In those countries, little new wealth is created and laboring groups have long been frozen into a permanent inferior social and economic position. There, the fact of social and economic mobility has long broken down and the myth along with it. A myth, let us remember, in order to remain alive and virile, must have some basis in fact.

Two world wars and other military involvements, the depression of the 30s along with periodic minor recessions and other widespread social infirmities have not, as we have seen, seriously undermined the American worker's faith in capitalism. Why this is so is a point barely touched on by American socialist thinkers and writers.

My own feelings are that many American socialists have vastly underestimated the length and intensity of the struggle necessary to bring about either a social revolution or the formation of a strong socialist party. Compared to Europe and Asia, the American working class has had an historic picnic. As a consequence the working class in America has never seriously had to face alternative solutions to capitalism, because the history of their experience with our economic system has not yet convinced them that capitalism, at this stage in its development, kills more than it saves. In the absence of such cumulative social experiences, leftist propaganda, organizational work, slogans, and the like, can have little permanent effect on the working class. And this much we have seen.

While considering the ingredients of political change, I feel obliged to say something about external forces, for up to now, and along with many Marxist analysts, I too have exclusively dealt only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with internal conditions. As far as the future is concerned the possibility exists that the American capitalist system may eventually be eclipsed on the economic front by a united front of socialist countries. If and when the country stands alone against a world composed of socialist powers, the economic and social conditions in the United States necessary for political change may then develop. . . .

If anyone today believes that the anti-socialism of the American worker results from the failure of any organization to make clear to him the true nature and meaning of socialism, then I believe that person is taking a very narrow and paternalistic attitude towards the working class. The only conclusion one can come away with in the face of such an attitude is that if the Left does not reveal to the worker the evils of capitalism and how these evils can be done away with, then the worker will never discover it for himself. Let us remember the Russian and Chinese revolutions. The Communist Parties in these countries only led the masses of people because they were on the move and the direction was not to the Right. When the masses of people are not moving of their own volition, no radical change to the Left will be effected. The people make revolutions, not parties.

The foregoing remarks are not intended to underscore pessimism, but are intended to point out some of the misconceptions current in socialist thinking. Perhaps if these misconceptions are cleared away, then the American Left (or what remains) will be better able to decide on what is to be done.

SOCIALISM AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

By E. B. Brown

MR's decision to devote space to "materials bearing on the theoretical and practical problems facing American Socialists" is a welcome one; considerable thought and discussion is urgently needed if we are to develop that socialist understanding which can equip us to meet the problems of the coming social and economic crisis.

Perhaps first beginnings are seldom auspicious, but MR's initial discussion article, "Politics and the Proletariat, 1953," by a "Special Correspondent" (who not only calls himself a *socialist,* but *teaches* social science at a "large university") is a triumph of sophomoric

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political confusion and leads to fundamentally anti-socialist conclusions, some of which we shall attempt to analyze.

* * *

(1) *Are the Workers Relatively Satisfied With Ike and McCarthy?* Everything here hinges on the word "relatively." In relation to being prepared to achieve socialism, it is quite true that the workers *are* "relatively" satisfied. But to take this in its real, rather than fantastic, context, our experience in the labor movement today convinces us that industrial workers (at any rate) are increasingly dissatisfied with Ike and McCarthy, and that for the first time since Roosevelt took office the growing realization is appearing among industrial workers that the government "is on the side of the bosses." Both center and left people in the West Coast labor movement testify to the growing unpopularity of Ike's millionaire cabinet among the rank-and-file.

(2) *Will an Economic Crisis Push the Workers in the Direction of Reaction?* Indications throughout the large industrial unions are to the contrary. Certainly the very real danger exists that McCarthy (or someone like him) will develop a demagogic social appeal, and there are sections of the working class which are already ripe for this. Today however it appears that the Democratic Party is becoming increasingly attractive in retrospect when contrasted with the present performance of the Republicans. Unfortunately, few workers have as yet begun to realize that the Republicans are merely doing openly and more rapidly what the Demos were doing behind liberal phrases. But it is certainly true that without a vast increase in the activity of socialists, crisis-bred working class discontent will not "spontaneously" direct itself against the capitalist system.

(3) *Is There No Perspective in the* Foreseeable *Future For a Labor Party?* If our correspondent is right on these and other points, then indeed the only thing for socialists to do is to clasp our shining principles to our wounded bosoms and secretly cherish them against the hurricane of reaction. We suggest that this is not the case. Obviously today American workers are not prepared to break with the "two-winged" one-party system. The growing number of calls from AFL and CIO locals for a labor party are welcome signs, but as yet not anywhere nearly enough to do more than stir the dust. If, as we have indicated, dissatisfaction with the Republican administration results in increased Democratic strength, then the condition for the development of a labor party will assuredly be delayed. But a victory for the Democrats in 1956 and their subsequent inadequacy to cope with severe crisis conditions may well create the circumstances necessary for the development of a genuine (if nonetheless theoretically backward and non-socialist) labor party. . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(4) *Is It Necessary to Red-Bait to Gain a Hearing?** We submit it will become more and more obvious to anti-McCarthy elements (particularly, and at first, on a local level) that you *cannot* defeat McCarthyism as long as you allow it to choose its own battleground. In California, Democratic circles on a local level are *beginning* to realize this, and stand up against red-baiting. Grass-roots, Demo County Committees, and *all* AFL and CIO (excepting the Teamster officialdom) in Condon's district are unanimous behind him. Increasingly within California CIO locals red-baiting is just not going over. My own experience as a shop steward in a large CIO local convinces me that we *can* answer red-baiting, show it up for what it is, *get* a hearing, and *get* support.

(5) *Is a Reorientation of the Workers Under Existing Conditions Impossible Because of Reactionary Control of Mass Media of Communications?* Under "existing" conditions, that is, *today's* conditions, it would be ridiculous to expect any overnight swing to the Left by American workers. But, among other things, what distinguishes socialists from liberals is our recognition that conditions are constantly changing, and further, our ability (with the help of modern socialist theory) to understand in general the rate, character, and direction of this change. If, as our socialist analysis of "existing conditions" (the contradictions of capitalism today) leads us to believe, a growing economic crisis lies in the near future, then the necessary conditions for a reorientation of the workers in the direction of greater militancy and class awareness will appear as well. Such conditions, of course, do not automatically lead to a greater militancy. This will depend, in part at least, upon the conscious activity of progressive forces, including left socialists, in the labor movement.

It seems, however, that one of the major reasons for "correspondent's" pessimism on this score is his apparent belief that American workers are on the whole rather stupid and ignorant and will blindly follow the reactionary advice of the monopoly-controlled mass media, despite circumstances. But the experience of every great social transformation in history, as well as the experience of the American labor movement, belies this. In the 30s the entire press, the radio, often the pulpit and the parish priest tried every trick in the propaganda book, plus the blacklist and outright terrorism, to keep "our loyal American workers" out of the "dirty Bolshevik" CIO. What happened is history, and certainly indicates that not *all* the workers were taken in, that they were capable of drawing their own conclusions *despite* the press and radio. Is this not possible again?

---

* This refers to Special Correspondent's statement that "for a very long time to come, no political group or individual who is not explicitly anti-Communist can hope to gain a fair hearing or acquire a substantial following."—ED.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(6) and (7) *Should We Socialists Stop Basing Our Activities On the Working Class Because it Has Become Reactionary, and Instead Adopt a "Non-Class" Approach of Influencing an "Elite" Which Can Influence Others?* This has a familiar and deadly ring. Throughout the history of the socialist movement in every period and country where we have suffered setbacks, some would-be socialists, projecting the limitations of their own despairing middle-class mentality into a "new" approach for socialism, have always come forward urging that we throw scientific, Marxian socialism overboard because it supposedly does not correspond to "existing conditions." Isolated from the working class movement, having learned little from history, these "socialists" see nothing but the four walls of their own frustration because the working class is not sufficiently "revolutionary" to suit their taste. This is the real content of "correspondent's" analysis and implicit proposals. In practice it means abandoning the field to the fascists and acquiescing in a war policy.

Actually, one of the historical shortcomings of the left-wing and socialist movement (including the Communist Party) in this country is precisely that we have *not* based ourselves sufficiently on the working class, we have not concentrated *enough* on "workers, farmers [and] so-called common people. . . ." All too often we have been content to rely on our contacts and influence with "leaders" and "opinion makers" while neglecting to build solid ties with the rank and file. One has only to contrast the militancy of unions like the ILWU, Ford Local 600, Mine-Mill, Fur, and others with, say, the Teamsters, to grasp the enormous potentialities of the American working class when afforded a militant leadership which knows how to build on the rank and file. The San Francisco longshoreman who consistently supports Bridges is generally no different than his next door Teamster neighbor who is sold down the river by Beck—and they both, we might add, unfortunately read the Hearst press.

Only a politics based on the working class, the small farmers and agricultural laborers, and the Negro people can point the way forward, can lead eventually to socialism. Any other approach means degenerating rapidly into a pitiful utopian sect.

Men are educated and the State uplifted by allowing all—everyone—to broach all their mistakes and advocate all their errors. The community that will not protect the most ignorant and unpopular member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false and hateful, is only a gang of slaves!

—Wendell Phillips

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVICE TO GRADUATING CLASSES

BY JOHN JAY CHAPMAN

Late this month and next month are graduation season, the season in which millions of students throughout the country take leave of close friends and familiar environments and set their faces toward a new and uncertain future. We would like to add our small bit to the spate of advice they will be receiving in the crowded weeks ahead, and we can think of no more effective or appropriate way of doing so than by printing a few excerpts from the memorable address which John Jay Chapman delivered to the graduating class at Hobart College in 1900. John Jay Chapman, whose death in 1933 came at a crucial turning point of our national history, was a profound critic of American life, the relevance of whose analyses and insights has enormously increased in the era of cold war and witch hunt. The complete address from which these excerpts are taken will be found in John Jay Chapman, *Learning and Other Essays* (1910). It is heartily recommended not only to graduating students but also to graduation speakers who are still pondering what advice it is most important to give in these anguished times.—THE EDITORS

When I was asked to make this address I wondered what I had to say to you boys who are graduating. And I think I have one thing to say.

If you wish to be useful, never take a course that will silence you. Refuse to learn anything that you cannot proclaim.

Refuse to accept anything that implies collusion, whether it be a clerkship or a curacy, a legal fee or a post in a university.

Retain the power of speech, no matter what other power you may lose. If you can take this course, and in so far as you take it, you will bless this country.

In so far as you depart from this course you become dampers, mutes, and hooded executioners.

As a practical matter a mere failure to speak out upon occasions where no opinion is asked or expected of you, and when the utterance of an uncalled-for suspicion is odious, will often hold you to a concurrence in palpable iniquity.

Try to raise a voice that shall be heard from here to Albany and watch what it is that comes forward to shut off the sound.

It is not a German sergeant, nor a Russian officer of the precinct. It is a note from a friend of your father's offering you a place in his office.

This is your warning from the secret police. Why, if any of you young gentlemen have a mind to make himself heard a mile off, you

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must make a bonfire of your reputations and a close enemy of most men who wish you well.

I have seen ten years of young men who rush out into the world with their messages, and when they find how deaf the world is, they think they must save their strength and wait. They believe that after a while they will be able to get up on some little eminence from which they can make themselves heard. "In a few years," reasons one of them, "I shall have gained a standing, and then I will use my power for good." Next year comes and with it a strange discovery. The man has lost his horizon of thought. His ambition has evaporated; he has nothing to say.

I give you this one rule of conduct. Do what you will but speak out always. Be shunned, be hated, be ridiculed, be scared, be in doubt, but don't be gagged.

The time of trial is always. Now is the appointed time.

How to make yourself needed—it is the sycophant's problem. . . . He must get on. He goes into a law office, and if he is offended at its dishonest practices he cannot speak. He soon accepts them. Thereafter he cannot see them.

He goes into a newspaper office, the same; a banker's, a merchant's, a dry-goods shop.

What has happened to these fellows at the end of three years, that their minds seem to be drying up?

I have seen many men I know in college grow more and more uninteresting from year to year.

Is there something in trade that desiccates and flattens out, that turns men into dried leaves at the age of forty?

Certainly there is. It is not due to trade, but to the intensity of self-seeking, combined with narrowness of occupation.

—John Jay Chapman, *Practical Agitation*

Every time a man asserts himself he cuts a cord that is strangling somebody.

—John Jay Chapman, *Practical Agitation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Who Won at Caracas?

David stood up to Goliath in March, 1954, when tiny Guatemala (population, 1952, 2,931,000; national income in 1949, 77 United States dollars per person) battled the Colossus of the North, while Latin Americans roared encouragement to their diminutive champion.

Delegates to the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, faced two negative problems and a positive one. The negatives were anti-Communism and anti-colonialism. The positive was inter-American economic integration.

Secretary of State Dulles attended the Caracas Conference as chief representative of a nation which had more productive power, more wealth, and a greater military force than all of Latin America combined. He was therefore able to insist that anti-Communism have first place on the conference agenda.

The anti-Communist resolution, proposed by the United States, (1) condemned "the international Communist movement as constituting intervention in American affairs," (2) expressed "the determination of the American states . . . to protect their independence against the intervention of international Communism acting in the interest of an alien despotism," and (3) declared "that the domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement, extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extra-continental power, would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American states, endangering the peace of America." The resolution proposed to counteract "the subversive activities of the international Communist movement" by determining the identity and activities of Communist agents and exchanging the information among American governments.

After an extended debate during which Latin Americans pointed out that the enforcement of such a resolution might infringe the political rights of citizens and violate the sovereignty of individual states, the resolution was passed by 17 to 1, Guatemala voting in the negative, while Mexico and Argentina abstained.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Secretary Dulles hailed the decision as "a momentous declaration which I hope and believe will help preserve the integrity of this hemisphere." The *New York Times* of March 14 described his "victory mood" as he left by plane for Washington.

After Mr. Dulles' departure, the Conference took up the second negative question: anti-colonialism. Argentina and Brazil presented draft resolutions favoring the elimination of European imperial control from any part of the Americas. The Argentinian resolution, the more drastic of the two, was adopted. United States delegates refused to take part in redrafting the resolution and abstained from voting on its final passage. The Latin American delegations passed the anti-colonial resolution 19-0.

Third among the major issues at Caracas was inter-American economic integration. Each of the twenty American republics represented at Caracas may regulate trade, money, credit, and other economic matters as it sees fit. Most of Latin America exports food and raw materials and imports manufactures. The United States is the logical market for the food and raw materials and the logical source of manufactures. Latin Americans are in need of investment capital, which is abundant in the United States, but tariffs, quotas, and credit difficulties restrict and in many cases prevent this natural exchange.

The obvious way out of this economic dead-end street is a planned economy for the Western Hemisphere, but most American republics are opposed to a surrender of sovereignty sufficient to permit effective economic planning. Economic discussions at the Conference were prolonged and acrimonious. Summarizing them, the *New York Times* of March 26 reported: "The economic differences between the United States and its Latin American neighbors stood out. . . . The United States was decisively outvoted on five major questions." One of these resolutions, concerning land distribution, was introduced by Guatemala and Bolivia.

Caracas provided another demonstration of the waste and futility of nationalism on a planet crisscrossed by trade, commerce, migration, travel, and the exchange of information and ideas.

Dulles Doctrine Takes Form

On January 12, 1954, in a talk before the Council on Foreign Relations, Secretary Dulles summed up the new foreign policy as depending "primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing." Subsequently, the Secretary elaborated the new plans in a Washington press conference on March 16 and in an article in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Secretary Dulles takes for granted a cold war between the "free" world and the "Soviet" world, with the United Nations and the neutrals huddled on the sidelines. The peace-loving "free" world is concerned only with defense, says he. The "Soviet" world is bulging with "potential aggression," "would-be aggression," "indirect aggression," "minor satellite aggression," direct aggression and subversion. "The cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defense."

"The free world," Mr. Dulles says in the same article, "has practical means for achieving collective security both through the United Nations and the various regional arrangements already referred to." These means include the Rio Pact of 1947, the North Atlantic Treaty, "a series of collective security treaties which now embrace Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea," and in the Middle East "collective arrangements now in the making with Turkey-Pakistan as the nucleus." The reference to the United Nations is a bow-in-passing. "Free" world power rests upon treaties covering Latin America, the Atlantic, the Western Pacific, and the Middle East.

These treaty networks have two features in common. All were pushed to completion by the United States. Taken together, the networks form a ring of military power encircling the Soviet Union, China, and the other Communist areas of Eurasia.

What is the purpose of the encirclement? During the March 16 press conference Secretary Dulles stated that if New York, Detroit, or Chicago were bombed by an aggressor, the United States would retaliate instantly and to the full extent of its ability. The same principle would apply to an infringement of the North Atlantic Treaty, which provides "that an attack against one of these states shall be deemed the same as an attack against the United States." In case of such an attack, the Rio Pact and the Atlantic Treaty give "the President of the United States the same authority to react as he would have if the United States were attacked."

Further questioning led Dulles to agree that this might mean United States entrance into a foreign war at the direction of the President, without a declaration by Congress. He further agreed that "our"—in the phrase "by means and at places of our choosing"—might mean that a pro-war decision by the President could be taken without consulting United States allies.

Asked if the principle of instant retaliation would apply "in the case of a limited challenge in some remote area," Mr. Dulles replied: "That does not mean necessarily that there will be an effort made to drop atomic bombs on Peiping or upon Moscow. It does mean that there are areas of importance to the aggressors in that vicinity which may have an industrial or strategic relationship to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operation which would no longer be what General MacArthur called 'a privileged sanctuary.'" "That does not mean turning every local war into a world war," Mr. Dulles added in his *Foreign Affairs* article. "It does not mean that if there is a Communist attack somewhere in Asia, atom or hydrogen bombs will necessarily be dropped on the great industries of China or Russia. It does mean that the free world must maintain the collective means and be willing to use them in the way which most effectively makes aggression too risky and expensive to be tempting."

The Eisenhower Administration has enlarged the Truman Doctrine of 1947. At times of its choosing, it is prepared to use atom and hydrogen bombs on any people anywhere on earth who are rash enough to defy the United States ban against establishing a Communist regime.

President Washington advised against "entangling alliances." Present-day United States foreign policy has entangled the country in Latin America, West and South Europe, the Middle East, and the Western Pacific, and presupposes United States military participation in any conflict along the 20,000-mile front which separates the "free" world from the "Soviet" world. For example: (1) If the Italian Communists should win a general election and establish a government with the aid of the Left Socialists, would Washington be satisfied to bomb Rome and Milan? Or would it insist upon including Moscow? (2) If Chinese volunteers should join the forces of Ho Chi Minh to the same extent that Polish and German volunteers have joined the French Foreign Legion fighting in Indo-China, and if they should win a decision, would Washington be satisfied to bomb Ho's capital, or would it also bomb Peking?

These are practical issues that may come to the fore any day, and in pursuance of the principle of "instant and massive retaliation" without investigation or consultation or negotiation, may, on a decision by a United States President, vaporize western civilization.

Dulles is a successful corporation lawyer and a past master at double-talk. Every word he utters should be scrutinized with a dictionary in one hand and a magnifying glass in the other.

He is not concerned with "collective security" but with establishing a network of military power that will enable United States business interests to dominate and exploit the planet after a "free" world victory.

He proposes to win peace through the use of armed might. His sequence is: military power—victory—peace. War comes first, with big, profitable contracts for Dulles' backers. Peace may follow.

He is obsessed with the need for retaliation, to the exclusion of justice, mercy, and righteousness. Somewhere, in the scripture which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he professes to follow, he will find: "It was said in former times 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' but I say to you 'Love your enemies.'" Retaliation is an eye for an eye or, maybe, two for one. Has the Secretary of State overlooked this passage? Or is he careful not to let his moral code interfere with political ambition?

Is it not time that western man should repudiate Dulles and the folly, waste, and wickedness implicit in the principle of instant retaliation? Is it not time to organize a crusade for justice, mercy, humility, peace, and brotherhood in an integrated, federated world?

Economic Illiterate or Gay Deceiver?

President of General Motors Harlow H. Curtice was speaking at a press conference in Chicago, March 15, 1954, about the business outlook: "There is no depression in my vision. The principal danger we face is psychological."

Are we to assume then that the four or five millions now out of work in the United States are suffering from psychological aberration, that the depression years followed 1929 because of a national nervous breakdown, and that the twenty-five business cycles of the 19th century were so many brainstorms? Should we take the President of General Motors seriously? Is he really ignorant of the facts of economic life, or is he just kidding us along?

Blood-Money

War in Korea pulled United States economy out of the recession that began in 1949, because government military spending rose from $16 billion in 1948 to $52 billion in 1953. In the summer of 1953 fighting ceased in Korea and a new recession began.

High level production in present-day United States economy depends on war spending. When war ends, recession begins.

Prosperity based on organized destruction and mass murder is at best insecure and fleeting. At worst it is blood-money, tainting and corrupting the individual and the community.

Uncle Sam Buys into a War

French troops have been fighting in Indo-China since 1946. During the early stages of the struggle their declared purpose was the protection of French interests. Latterly, however, under prodding and subsidy, in accordance with Truman-Dulles Doctrine, the war has become a part of the struggle to contain Communism.

From its inception the Indo-China War has been unpopular in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France. As war costs rose and losses mounted, it became "the filthy war." Two years ago Paris was ready to pull out and let the Indo-Chinese manage their own affairs. Washington objected. Last year the French were even more determined to call it a day. Washington offered planes, ammunition, technical advice, and assistance, plus an additional $382 million to keep the war going.

On March 16, 1954, a budget debate in the French National Assembly revealed the facts of Indo-China War financing. In 1954 the French will provide $394 million, or 22 percent of the war costs, while the United States will spend $1,421 million or 78 percent of the total outlay.

United States economy needs a war to do for the current recession what the Korean War did for the recession of 1949. At its present level, the Indo-China conflict is too small to be effective. Under Dulles' guidance, it may be expanded until it will offer a new market to the United States steel industry, now running at less than 70 percent of capacity.

Indo-China offers another advantage. With the war financed by the United States and successfully concluded on Washington's terms, air and naval bases can be established opposite those of Pakistan (1) on the frontier of China, (2) hemming in India, and (3) giving Washington an additional foothold along the Asian mainland. In its drive for world domination, the United States oligarchy may consider such gains cheap if they can be secured without the expenditure of United States manpower and for a mere $1,421 millions a year.

The Turkey-Pakistan Nucleus

"Collective arrangements are now in the making in the Middle East, with Turkey-Pakistan as the nucleus," wrote Secretary Dulles in the April 1954 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. United States bases in Turkey are reported to be the most modern and effective in the world. Turkey adjoins the vital Soviet Baku-Batum oil production area toward which Hitler aimed his 1941 military invasion.

Let us suppose, for comparison, that the Soviet Union were making "collective arrangements" for air and naval bases in Mexico, Panama, and Columbia, and that the Soviet Foreign Minister announced a Molotov Doctrine in accordance with which any United States aggression directed against Mexico, Panama, and Columbia would lead to instantaneous, massive retaliation against Washington and New York. Would United States citizens be going quietly about their daily affairs as Marshall MacDuffie (*Collier's* for March 5, 19, and April 2) reports people to be doing in the Soviet Union?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Way

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson told Washington newsmen on March 23 that the war in Indo-China can be brought to a successful conclusion by "efficient and aggressive training of Indo-Chinese troops." With this idea in mind, the Defense Secretary has sent General John W. O'Daniel, United States Army commander in the Pacific area, to Indo-China.

Wilson's aggressive insistence on a United States victory in Indo-China is getting results.

> French airmen unleashed the biggest firebomb assault of the Indo-Chinese war on red reinforcements to Dienbienphu, set the jungle ablaze and inflicted high casualties. . . . Relays of war planes poured thousands of gallons of flaming jellied gasoline into convoys of Communist troops. . . . A military spokesman said each assault completely saturated a strip nearly two miles long and more than half a mile wide. (*Minneapolis Morning Tribune,* March 24, 1954.)

Such practices, adopted in Korea and repeated in Indo-China, will alienate friends and embitter enemies in Europe, Africa, and Latin America, as well as in Asia.

CONTEST WINNER

One copy of *The Treason of the Senate* by David Graham Phillips is awarded to Mr. Charles Podsen of Brooklyn for the best brief translation of the passage quoted from the *New York Law Journal* in the February issue of MR, p. 520. Some dozen entries were received from readers, and several were close runners-up for the prize. Here is the winner:

> Translation of Mr. Abrons' article must be by way of an example. Heretofore, the burglar has been defended by the conscientious fence voluntarily since he, the fence, profits most from the burglaries. Now the burglar wants to know if he can compel the unconscientious fence to pay for his defense and any fine imposed. It is pointed out that if fences cannot be brought to court by the burglars to compel them to make such indemnifications, then the burglars are going to be reluctant to continue their depredations. Understandably, the question of compensation during incarceration is not raised since there is tacit judicial agreement that the type of criminal involved must never be sent to jail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE OPPENHEIMER CASE

The Atomic Energy Commission has designated a panel to investigate Oppenheimer. . . . About a year ago, the McCarthy Committee of the Senate began to investigate Communist infiltration into the A.E.C. Its new chairman, Lewis Strauss, requested delay until he cleaned up any mess that existed, but Lewis Strauss was a member of the A.E.C. from 1946 *to* 1950 *and he must have known about Oppenheimer, who was also subsequently associated with him at the Institute for Advanced Study.*

Therefore what needs to be investigated is not J. Robert Oppenheimer alone but the A.E.C.

—New York *Daily Mirror,* April 16, 1954

Why stop there?

Question by reporter: *Can you discuss the Dr. Oppenheimer situation at all?*

Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson: . . . *I would like to comment without referring to people or any particular incidents.*

On this question of security risks and loyalty they are distinctly different things. If a man is accused of being disloyal or subversive that is some kind of act against the country. The security risk business is simply trying to eliminate the people that are more-than-average security risks so that you don't get them in the wrong place, where they might do some damage. . . .

It is a little bit like selecting a teller in a bank. . . . If the man frequents gambling joints and has contacts with the underworld you ordinarily don't hire him. Or if you found out after you did hire him that at one time he had been convicted of theft or something like that—maybe he is reformed and all—but still you don't expose him again.

You don't wait until he has stolen money from the bank and then try to do something about it. You try to get people that are qualified and are not financial risks in that sense. . . .

Q.—Mr. Secretary, I'll ask you a specific question on the same line. I believe it is correct to say that the Army and possibly the Air Force brought to this country a great number of German scientists to work on guided missiles development, men with a record of recent past association with the Nazis. How did that square with what you are saying or do you think that it was a mistake?

A.—There is no way that I can pass on it broadly. You'd have to look at each case on its own.

—*New York Times,* April 15, 1954

Nazi scientists? That's different, of course.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHERE WE STAND

BY THE EDITORS

During the early years of the 20th century the subject of socialism was widely and eagerly discussed in the United States. Eugene V. Debs, socialist candidate for president, polled close to 1,000,000 votes in 1912—the equivalent of approximately 3,000,000 votes in the 1948 election. The popular interest in socialism was reflected in an enormous sale of socialist literature. *The Appeal to Reason,* a weekly, had a circulation of more than 300,000 for several years; pamphlets by Oscar Ameringer were printed in editions of hundreds of thousands; books by Bellamy, Upton Sinclair, and Jack London ranked with the best-sellers of the day.

This widespread interest in socialism has declined to such an extent that today it would probably not be an exaggeration to say that for the great majority of Americans "socialism" is little more than a dirty word. This is an extraordinary situation because it occurs at the very moment that a large proportion of the rest of the world is moving toward socialism at an unprecedentedly rapid rate. It is a deeply disturbing situation because there are still many Americans who believe with us that, in the long run, socialism will prove to be the only solution to the increasingly serious economic and social problems that face the United States.

It is because we hold firmly to this belief that we are founding *Monthly Review,* an independent magazine devoted to analyzing, from a socialist point of view, the most significant trends in domestic and foreign affairs.

By "socialism" we mean a system of society with two fundamental characteristics: first, public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy, and, second, comprehensive planning of production for the benefit of the producers themselves.

The possibility and workability of such a system of society are no longer open to doubt. Socialism became a reality with the

Reprinted from Vol. 1, *No.* 1, *May,* 1949.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

introduction of the first Five Year Plan in Soviet Russia in 1928; its power to survive was demonstrated by the subsequent economic achievements of the USSR during the '30s, and finally, once and for all, in the war against Nazi Germany. These facts—and they are facts which no amount of wishful thinking can conjure away—give to the USSR a unique importance in the development of socialism and in the history of our time.

We find completely unrealistic the view of those who call themselves socialists, yet imagine that socialism can be built on an international scale by fighting it where it already exists. This is the road to war, not to socialism. On the other hand, we do not accept the view that the USSR is above criticism simply because it is socialist. We believe in, and shall be guided by, the principle that the cause of socialism has everything to gain and nothing to lose from a full and frank discussion of shortcomings, as well as accomplishments, of socialist countries and socialist parties everywhere.

We shall follow the development of socialism all over the world, but we want to emphasize that our major concern is less with socialism abroad than with socialism at home. We are convinced that, the sooner the United States is transformed from a capitalist to a socialist society, the better it will be, not only for Americans, but for all mankind.

We believe that there are already many Americans who share this attitude with us and that their number will steadily increase. We ask their financial support, their assistance in extending our circulation, and their advice as to how *Monthly Review* can best serve the cause of socialism in the United States.

Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service.

PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN
in his article "Why Socialism?" in Vol. I, No. 1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SALE — BACK ISSUES OF MR AT REDUCED PRICES

In the following 8 pages, we list the contents of all issues beginning with May, 1949, which was Vol. I, No. 1. Some readers may want particular issues to complete their file; other readers may want to read certain articles they have missed. The listing below will show you what is and what is not available.

Seven issues are out of print. Eight other issues are priced at $2 each. All other back numbers are available at reduced prices. Please note that *the minimum order is* $1.

GREATLY REDUCED

Any 4 copies $1; 10 for $2; 18 for $3; 25 for $4

Minimum Order $1

JUNE, 1949

The Editors—**Civil War in the CIO; Depression? Yes, No, Maybe;** Paul M. Sweezy—**The German Problem;** Scott Nearing—**Why I Believe in Socialism;** Otto Nathan—**Poland and Czechoslovakia on the Road to Socialism;** York Gazette, Editorial—**Labor and World Conquest;** Leo Huberman—**Class Struggle in America?**

JULY, 1949

The Editors—**Academic Freedom in the Colleges; Depression, Now; Liberals and Socialists;** Frederic Hastings Smyth—**Religion and Socialism;** Paul M. Sweezy—**Is the Marshall Plan an Instrument of Peace?;** Charles Bettelheim—**Capitalist "Plans" and Their Significance;** Leo Huberman—**Value and Surplus Value.**

AUGUST, 1949

The Editors—**Point Four; The British Crisis;** The Editors—**The Communist Manifesto after 100 Years;** Leo Huberman—**The Accumulation of Capital.**

SEPTEMBER, 1949

The Editors—**The Atlantic Pact Again; The Nathan Report and the American Labor Movement;** A British Socialist—**British Labor and Socialism, Part I;** Historicus—**Not Propaganda or Plotting but History;** An Economist—**The ECE's European Economic Survey.**

OCTOBER, 1949

The Editors—**The Peekskill Riots; In Darkest India;** Corliss Lamont—**Why I Believe in Socialism;** A British Socialist—**British Labor and Socialism, Part II;** An Austrian Socialist—**Austrian Social Democracy.**

NOVEMBER, 1949

The Editors—**The Soviet Bomb; The Communist Trial;** Paul M. Sweezy—**The Devaluation of the Pound;** Max Werner—**Notes on a Divided Germany;** Henry Pratt Fairchild—**Why I Believe in Socialism;** Leo Huberman—**Monopoly.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DECEMBER, 1949
The Editors—**The Split in the CIO; Western European Economic Integration; Two Voices;** Basil Davidson—**Italy and the Marshall Plan;** Stephen Fischer—**Notes on the CIO Convention.**

JANUARY, 1950
The Editors—**Economic Retrospect and Prospect;** Konni Zilliacus—**1949;** Robert D. Feild—**Art and Socialism;** Leo Huberman—**Eugene V. Debs: Uncompromising Revolutionary;** John S. Jenkins—**Why I Believe in Socialism.**

FEBRUARY, 1950
The Editors—**The Welfare State; The Indonesian Story; Hungary and the Press;** Oscar Lange—**The Two Roads for World Economy;** An Australian Socialist—**Australia, New Zealand, and Socialism, Part I.**

APRIL, 1950
The Editors—**The Coal Strike; The Population Boom of the 40's;** I. F. Stone—**Problems of the Progressive Party;** Henry A. Wallace—**What Is "Progressive Capitalism"?** A British Socialist—**After the General Election.**

MAY, 1950
The Editors—**The Bridges Case; F. O. Matthiessen; Harold J. Laski; Cooperation on the Left—Discussion by:** Henry A. Wallace, F. O. Matthiessen, Carey McWilliams, Irving H. Flamm, Harvey O'Connor, Corliss Lamont, Cedric Belfrage, Shaemas O'Sheel, and others.

JUNE, 1950
The Editors—**The McCarthy Affair; Point Four vs. Social Revolution;** Paul M. Sweezy—**Capitalism and Race Relations; Cooperation on the Left—Discussion by:** Oliver Loud, George Markham, Eugene A. Cox, and others.

JULY, 1950
The Editors—**New Turn in American Politics? Après Moi Le Déluge; More On Point Four vs. Social Revolution;** Harold J. Laski—**Why I Am a Marxist; Cooperation on the Left—Discussion by:** Historicus, Scott Nearing, Allen H. Barton, Harold A. Cowell, Frederick Boyden, Philip A. Klein, C. A. Green; Robert Shillaker—**An Appeal—and A Recommendation.**

MAY, 1951
The Editors—**Socialism Is the Only Answer;** Paul M. Sweezy—**The American Ruling Class, Part I;** Arthur K. Davis—**Freedom Under Socialism: Summary and Comment;** Friedrich Engels—**Freedom and Necessity.**

JUNE, 1951
The Editors—**The Meaning of MacArthur;** D. D. Kosambi—**Imperialism and Peace;** Konni Zilliacus—**The Crisis in the Labor Party;** Paul M. Sweezy—**The American Ruling Class, Part II.**

SEPTEMBER, 1951
The Editors—**The Economic Situation and the Fight for Peace; Plumbing the Depths; Private Interest vs. Public Welfare;** Arthur K. Davis—**Behind the Civil Rights Crisis;** A Student of the USSR—**The Economic Superiority of Socialist Planning;** Aleine Austin—**"Force and Violence" on the Labor Front;** I. F. Stone—**The Implications of Redbaiting.**

OCTOBER, 1951
The Editors—**Cry Halt! Footnote to Korea;** James Webster—**A New Road for Student Socialism;** The Editors—**Memo to Graduate Students;** A Special Correspondent—**The Welfare State—For Capitalists Too;** Joan Robinson—**Preparation for War.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOVEMBER, 1951
The Editors—**Toward an American Resistance Movement;** Ursula Wasserman—**Socialism Via Kibbutzim?** The Editors—**Reply to Mr. Bittelman;** Paul M. Sweezy—**Certain Aspects of American Capitalism.**

DECEMBER, 1951
The Editors—**Same Work—Different Unions; The Korean Truce Talks; Crisis in the Middle East and North Africa; The Eighty-Second Congress; German Unification Again; The British Election; Political Rights Are for Using;** Harvey O'Connor—**CIO at a Dead End;** A British Socialist—**The Labor Party's Next Task;** Harry Grundfest—**Malthusiasm;** Natalie Moszkowska—**Reformism and Internationalism.**

JANUARY, 1952
The Editors—**Stop, Look, and Listen!** Harvey O'Connor—**Jamaica: The Colonial Dilemma, Part I;** A Canadian Socialist—**Commonsense in Canada;** Irving H. Flamm—**The Road to Socialism in America.**

FEBRUARY, 1952
The Editors—**Why Americans Will Be Socialists; Conflicts in the Ruling Class;** Staughton Lynd—**Notes on the Chinese Revolution;** Harvey O'Connor—**Jamaica: The Colonial Dilemma, Part II;** Henry Pratt Fairchild—**In Defense of Malthus.**

MARCH, 1952
The Editors—**Needed: Courage and Patriotism; Capitalism and American Foreign Policy;** Corliss Lamont—**On "Soviet Aggression";** Basil Davidson—**Awakening in Africa;** Harry Grundfest—**Reply to Professor Fairchild.**

APRIL, 1952
The Editors—**Candidates and Issues;** Kumar Goshal—**The Indian Elections and American Policy;** A Student of Race Relations—**Uncle Tom in Striped Pants;** A British Socialist—**The Growth of Bevanism;** Paul M. Sweezy—**Socialism and the Overpopulation Bogey;** Richard Hart—**Jamaica: The Way Forward;** Scott Nearing—**The American Resistance: A Communication.**

MAY, 1952
The Editors—**The Outlook for American Socialists; Turning Point in Germany?** A Student of the USSR—**The Soviet Union's "Achilles' Heel";** A Marxian Economist—**The Structure of a Capitalist War Economy;** The Editors—**Where We Stand.**

JUNE, 1952
The Editors—**The Threat of Depression; The Case of Finland; Latest Developments in Jamaica;** A Special Correspondent—**Bevanism; The Road to Socialism in America—Discussion by:** Irwin Edelman, Paul A. Rosen, An American Socialist.

JULY, 1952
The Editors—**Fascism and the United States;** Natalie Moszkowska—**The Resurgence of Fascism;** Basil Davidson—**West Africa: Leader of a Continent;** A British Socialist—**The New Fabianism;** Charles Podsen—**They Hound the Idealists: A Communication.**

AUGUST, 1952
The Editors—**The Sixty-Four Dollar Question;** Leo Huberman—**The "New" History;** William Appleman Williams—**A Second Look at Mr. X.**

SEPTEMBER, 1952
The Editors—**Who Will Tell Them?** A Correspondent—**How Shall We Vote?** Carl Marzani—**How FDR's Policy Was Reversed;** Claude Bourdet—**A Letter to Americans;** Joan Robinson—**Moscow, 1952;** Alfred Kreymborg—**Two Poems; A Supplementary Bibliography of F. O. Matthiessen.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OCTOBER, 1952
The Editors—**What Happened to the Economic Crisis?** Historicus—**Fascism in America;** Leo Huberman—**Capitalism and Crime, Part I;** D. D. Kosambi—**Science and Freedom; The Road to Socialism in America—Discussion by:** A Foreign Subscriber, Rixford Knight.

DECEMBER, 1952
The Editors—**After the Election;** Harvey O'Connor—**Mexican Oil: A Study in Nationalization;** Dick Lyle—**Mexican Politics: The Paradox Remains;** A British Socialist—**The Struggle within the Labor Party;** Robert S. Cohen—**Socialism and American Life: A Review.**

JANUARY, 1953
The Editors—**What Next in Korea?; The Eisenhower Administration; Save the Rosenbergs;** William Appleman Williams—**Republican Foreign Policy from McKinley to Eisenhower;** Frederick L. Schuman—**America and Russia: A Review and a Commentary.**

FEBRUARY, 1953
The Editors—**Hold the Fort; The Vienna Peace Conference;** Jean-Paul Sartre—**The Vienna Congress;** A Japanese Student—**Japan and the United States;** Leo Huberman—**The Bridges Case Is Your Case;** Florence Luscomb—**An Open Letter to a Member of the ADA;** An Austrian Socialist—**Austria: Case Study in the Cold War;** Joshua Kunitz—**A Sensible Book on the USSR;** Shaemas O'Sheel—**Christmas Eve: A Communication;** Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Biggest Labor Story? The New York Waterfront Again; History Contest.**

MARCH, 1953
The Editors—**On Trials and Purges;** F. O. Matthiessen—**Marxism and Literature; The Confessions of Karl Marx;** Joshua Kunitz—**The Jewish Problem in the USSR, Part I;** Paul M. Sweezy—**A Marxist View of Imperialism;** Arthur Eggleston—**Men of Measured Piety and Calculated Faith;** Naomi Mitchison—**A British Socialist on Soviet Writers and Writing;** Arthur K. Davis—**Economics for the Power Age: A Review;** Hugh Hardyman—**People in China;** Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: No Frontal Attack—Yet;** Sagittarius—**". . . Ain't Going There"; History Contest.**

APRIL, 1953
The Editors—**Stalin and the Future;** Joshua Kunitz—**The Jewish Problem in the USSR, Part II;** Scott Nearing—**World Events;** W.E.B. DuBois—**Negroes and the Crisis of Capitalism in the United States; The American Left, Two French Views:** Michel Crozier—**The Basic Stability of American Politcs;** Jean-Marie Domenach—**The American Left and the French Left;** Robert Porter—**Fascism in America: A Reply to Historicus;** Historicus—**Rejoinder;** Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: The Strange World of the NAM.**

SLIGHTLY REDUCED

Any 3 copies for $1; 7 for $2; 12 for $3

Minimum Order $1

MAY, 1953
The Editors—**The Peace Offensive and the Job Ahead;** Gilles Martinet—**The Future of Communism;** Scott Nearing—**The Resistance Is More Vigorous: A Communication;** Historicus—**Dollar Diplomacy—A New Drive;** Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: The Barometer Is Rising;** J. H. Robertson—**The Economic Transformation Of China;** Scott Nearing—**World Events;** The Editors—**Where We Stand;** Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUNE, 1953

The Editors—**The Fascist Danger**; J. Raymond Walsh—**The Storm Signals Are Flying**; Arthur K. Davis—**Anti-Communism and Fascism**; Carey McWilliams—**The Political Use of Fear**; H. H. Wilson—**The Problem of Power**; F. D. Reeve—**Department of Utter Confession**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Planning for a Labor Front**; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; A Canadian Socialist—**Monopoly and American Control in Canada**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

JULY, 1953

The Editors—**Cease-Fire and After**; Trevor M. Webster—**Academic Freedom and the American University**; Peter Townsend—**The Meaning of Land Reform in China**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: McCarthy and Labor**; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

AUGUST, 1953

The Editors—**Class Justice; What Is Happening in Eastern Europe?** The Editors—**Challenge To The Book Burners**; Leo Huberman—**Statement Before the McCarthy Committee**; **Stenographic Transcript of Leo Huberman's Testimony Before the McCarthy Committee**; Basil Davidson—**Empire Building: 1953 Style**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: The Butler Bill**; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

SEPTEMBER, 1953

The Editors—**Indo-China and France**; A Special Correspondent—**"Progress" in the South**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: McCarthy's Kampf**; Leo Huberman—**The Harvey O'Connor Case**; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

NOVEMBER, 1953

The Editors—**Defend the First Amendment! The Economic Turning Point**; Joan Robinson—**Letters from a Visitor to China, Part I**; Geoffrey Bing—**Britain, China, and the United States**; Jacques Kayser—**It Is Necessary to Know How to Finish a Crusade**; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; A British Socialist—**The Labor Party Prepares for Power**; Corliss Lamont—**Statement Before the McCarthy Committee**; Andrew Boyd—**Nationalism and Labor in Ireland, Part II**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: The Attack on the Lawyers Guild**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

DECEMBER, 1953

The Editors—**Time Bomb in Korea . . . And in Germany**; Ernest F. Patterson—**United States vs. United Nations Aid for Underdeveloped Countries**; Sagittarius—**The Senate and the People**; Kenzo Awata—**Freedom Under Socialism**; Bert McLeech—**Company Unions—In the Classroom**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Of the Rewriting of History There Is No End**; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Joan Robinson—**Letters from a Visitor to China, Part II**; Arthur K. Davis—**The Present As History—A Review**; Providence Sunday Journal, Editorial—**Is There A Place For The Honest Dissenter?** Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

JANUARY, 1954

The Editors—**The Roots and Prospects of McCarthyism**; **Problems of American Socialism**: A Special Correspondent—**Politics and the Proletariat**; George Woodard—**What Ails American Socialism?** George Olshausen—**Socialism Is Constitutional**; J. Raymond Walsh—**The World The Dollar Built—A Review**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Who Doesn't Believe in Class Struggle?** Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Joan Robinson—**Letters from a Visitor to China, Part III**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

FEBRUARY, 1954

The Editors—**The Atomic Talks; The Beria Affair**; Carl Dreher—**The Intellectuals and the Left**; An English Correspondent—**The Situation in Britain: A Communication**; Alex Comfort—**Anti-Americanism in Europe**; Martin Hall—**The Ominous Parallel**; A Special Correspondent—**The Promotion of International Trade: A**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Modest Proposal; Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Get It and Get Out!** Shaemas O'Sheel—**The Irish Revolution: A Communication**; Joan Robinson—**Letters from a Visitor to China, Part IV**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

MARCH, 1954

The Editors—**The Eisenhower Program: Can Capitalism Be Made to Work?** Anna Louise Strong—**Guatemala: A First-Hand Report**; Ikutaro Shimizu—**America, Buck Up!** A "Welfare Lady"—**Southern Succor**; Gilles Martinet—**The Meaning of the Djilas Affair**; Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Slop Your Hog—But Gently!** Scott Nearing—**World Events**; Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

APRIL, 1954

The Editors—**Berlin and After**; **Imperialist Counter-Offensive**; Elena de la Souchère **Venezuela: Luxury, Poverty, and Tyranny**; F. D. Reeve—**Columbia's Bicentennial**; A Political Economist—**America and East-West Trade**; Harvey Goldberg—**The Growth of Early Socialism**; Scott Nearing—**World Events.**

$2 per copy—limited quantity, order immediately

MAY, 1949

The Editors—**Where We Stand**; **The Atlantic Pact**; **China and Socialism**; Albert Einstein— **Why Socialism?**; Paul M. Sweezy—**Recent Developments in American Capitalism**; Leo Huberman—**Socialism and American Labor**; Otto Nathan—**Transition to Socialism in Eastern Europe.**

AUGUST, 1950

The Editors—**Korea**; Clay Fulks—**Capitalism Seeks Sanctuary**; **Cooperation on the Left—Discussion by:** Earl Browder, Pete Smith, Ideas for Action, Horace B. Davis; York Gazette, Editorial—**Patriotism.**

OCTOBER, 1950: Memorial to F. O. Matthiessen (160 pages; cover slightly soiled; only a few left)

The Editors—**Foreword**; F. O. Matthiessen—**The Education of a Socialist**; F. O. Matthiessen—**Of Crime and Punishment**; Leo Marx—**The Teacher**; Bernard Bowron —**The Making of an American Scholar**; Henry Nash Smith—**American Renaissance**; Paul M. Sweezy—**Labor and Political Activities**; John Rackliffe—**Notes for a Character Study**; **Statements by many friends**; **A Preliminary Bibliography of F. O. Matthiessen.**

MARCH, 1951

The Editors—**Eisenhower, German Rearmament, and World Peace**; An Israeli Socialist—**Left Socialism in Israel, Part II**; UE Washington Notes—**The Current Economic Situation**; James Aldridge—**What Makes Revolutions.**

APRIL, 1951

The Editors—**The Hope for Peace**; **War, Peace, and Labor**; Jon Naar—**Soviet Foreign Policy**; A British Socialist—**The British Peace Movement**; G.D.H. Cole—**As A Socialist Sees It**; Shaemas O'Sheel—**O Pioneers!**

JULY, 1951

The Editors—**Capitalist Freedom**; **Iran: The Crisis in Microcosm**; Harvey O'Connor —**Venezuela: A Study in Imperialism**; George H. Shoaf—**The Biggest Little Paper This Country Ever Knew.**

AUGUST, 1951

The Editors—**Korea—One Year Later**; Leo Huberman—**Miss Coleman Had a Point**; Paul A. Baran—**Economic Development of Backward Areas.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOVEMBER, 1952
How Shall We Vote? Discussion by: Ed Bloch, E. B. Brown and Wells Keddie, George Clarke, Pearl Cline, Robert S. Cohen, Alexander L. Crosby, Arthur K. Davis, Irwin Edelman, Kumar Goshal, Historicus, Leo Huberman, Shaemas O'Sheel, Paul M. Sweezy, Bruce Waybur; A Student of the USSR—**Workers' Incomes in the Soviet Union;** Rudolf Schlesinger—**Further Observations on Malthusianism;** Leo Huberman—**Capitalism and Crime, Part II.**

OUT OF PRINT—Not available at any price

MARCH, 1950
The Editors—**Where Are We Going? The Soviet Pact; News That's Fit to Print; The British Election;** The Editors—**Cooperation on the Left;** Pietro Nenni—**The Responsibility of Left Socialism;** An Australian Socialist—**Australia, New Zealand, and Socialism, Part II;** Leo Huberman—**Questions About Socialism.**

SEPTEMBER, 1950
The Editors—**Sound the Alarm;** Basil Davidson—**Contrast in Germany;** Leo Huberman—**Notes on Left Propaganda; Cooperation on the Left: Discussion by:** University Teacher of Economics, Harold L. White, Joseph Gilbert.

NOVEMBER, 1950
The Editors—**The Problem Is Peace; Fascism in the United States?** Paul M. Sweezy—**The American Economy and the Threat of War;** Howard Kaminsky—**Freedom Under Socialism.**

DECEMBER, 1950
The Editors—**The Elections; The Task Ahead;** A Special Correspondent—**Inside the United Nations;** Julian R. Friedman—**The Last Fling of Imperialism;** A Canadian Socialist—**The Canadian Left; Shaw on Socialism;** Elgin Williams—**The Left and the American Way of Life;** The Editors—**Freedom Under Socialism—A Comment;** Editorial from the Wall Street Journal—**The Poverty of Statesmanship.**

JANUARY, 1951
The Editors—**The Crisis from Three Angles; The Consequences of American Policy;** A Special Correspondent—**The American Struggle Against Human Rights;** An Israeli Socialist—**Left Socialism in Israel, Part I;** Stringfellow Barr—**The Basic Problem;** Pierre Courtade in L'Humanité—**As Others See Us.**

FEBRUARY, 1951
The Editors—**Playing with Fire; Get into the Debate;** J. Raymond Walsh—**Max Werner: The Man and the Thinker;** A Correspondent—**Max Werner: International Socialist;** A Special Correspondent—**Puerto Rico: The Necessity for Socialism;** William Robert Miller—**I, Africa; Freedom Under Socialism—Discussion by:** Howard Kaminsky, Shaemas O'Sheel, Leon A. Bachrach.

OCTOBER, 1953
The Editors—**The Successes of Mr. Dulles;** Sagittarius—**How Pleasant to Be Mr. Dulles!** Leo Huberman—**That "High" American Standard of Living;** Paul M. Sweezy—**Reflections on Japanese-American Relations;** Harvey O'Connor—**The Treason of the Senate: A Review;** A Student of the USSR—**Malenkov's Secret Weapon;** Arthur Eggleston—**The Labor Movement: Labor Unity in Sight At Last?** Andrew Boyd—**Nationalism and Labor in Ireland, Part I;** John Bowman—**"Lest We Forget";** Scott Nearing—**World Events;** Julian Friedman—**Empire Building: 1953 Style—A Comment;** Fred Wright—**Cartoon.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOUND VOLUMES

Volume I	(May, 1949 - April, 1950)	$9.00
Volume II	(May, 1950 - April, 1951)	not available
Volume III	(May, 1951 - April, 1952)	$7.00
Volume IV	(May, 1952 - April, 1953)	$7.00
Volume V	(May, 1953 - April, 1954)	$7.00

MONTHLY REVIEW, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

I enclose $..... for the following back issues (insert month and year only — please write plainly)

.....

.....

.....

.....

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

Still Available:

THE ROOTS AND PROSPECTS OF McCARTHYISM

MR Pamphlet No. 8

This article, which appeared in our January 1954 issue, has been reprinted in England, France, Japan and several other countries.

Price: Single copies — 10c; 12 copies — $1
25 copies — $2; 75 copies — $5

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Special $1

MR PAMPHLET PACKET

No. 1 WHY SOCIALISM? by Professor Albert Einstein

Another printing of the warm human declaration for socialism by the world's most famous scientist.

10c per copy 12 for $1 100 for $5

No. 2 INSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS
by A Special Correspondent

Two articles by a close observer of the UN since its inception, which have created a sensation both here and abroad.

25c per copy 6 for $1 40 for $5

No. 3 SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY ANSWER
by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy

Three articles, of which one is a reprint of the now famous editorial from the May 1951 issue.

25c per copy 5 for $1 30 for $5

No. 4 PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM by Friedrich Engels
A New Translation by Paul M. Sweezy

25c per copy 5 for $1 30 for $5

No. 5 REDBAITING AND CIVIL LIBERTIES
Two notable articles:
Open Letter To A Member Of ADA, by Florence Luscomb
Behind The Civil Rights Crisis, by Arthur K. Davis

15c per copy 8 for $1 50 for $5

No. 6 THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN THE USSR by Joshua Kunitz
ON TRIALS AND PURGES
by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy

25c per copy 5 for $1 30 for $5

No. 7 THE ABC OF SOCIALISM
by Leo Huberman and Sybil H. May

Simple, clear exposition in a 64-page booklet.

50c per copy 5 for $2 13 for $5

All seven pamphlets — $1.75 worth — for only $1 in the MR PAMPHLET PACKET

All prices include postage. Address your order to
MONTHLY REVIEW • 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sub and Book Offers

☐ $ 3.00 for a one-year subscription
☐ $ 5.00 for a two-year sub
(add 50c for any address outside U.S.A.)

☐ $ 1.00 MAN'S WORLDLY GOODS by Leo Huberman (paper edition)
Currently a best seller in Japan where it has sold 65,000 copies

☐ $ 1.00 THE BENDING CROSS—Ray Ginger's life of Eugene V. Debs (list price $5)
"One of the distinguished biographies of the year"
—Saturday Review of Literature

☐ $ 1.00 MR PAMPHLET PACKET—7 pamphlets (list price $1.75)

One-year sub plus any one of the above $4 ☐

☐ $ 2.00 THE TRUMAN ERA by I. F. Stone (list price $3)
"A fierce, penetrating, searching book of short articles that stab to the marrow"—John O'London's Weekly

☐ $ 2.80 THE WORLD THE DOLLAR BUILT by Gunther Stein (list price $4)
"Well informed as well as eloquently written"
—Economic Journal

☐ $ 3.00 THE TREASON OF THE SENATE by David Graham Phillips (list price $4.75)
"Tears away the sanctified sham and fake majesty that the press and radio today clothe our Caesars in"
—Harvey O'Connor

☐ $ 3.00 THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR by I. F. Stone (list price $5)
"I would nominate this for the Book-of-the-Year if there were such an award given for courage and honesty in writing of the crisis of our time"—Matthew Josephson

☐ $ 3.50 THE PRESENT AS HISTORY by Paul M. Sweezy (list price $5)
"America's foremost Marxian economist"—The Nation

One-year sub plus any one of the books above $5 ☐

Name .....

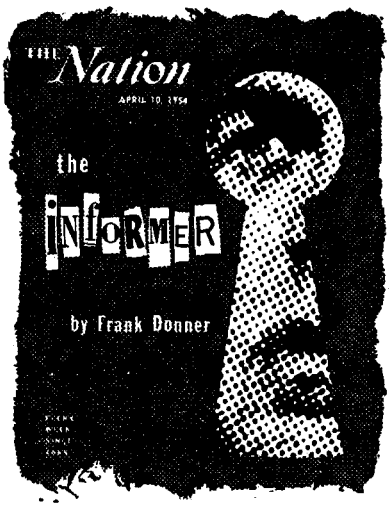
Street .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

All prices include postage. Send your order, with payment enclosed, to
MONTHLY REVIEW, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A MAN TO RECKON WITH!



THE INFORMER

NOW READ this shocking exposé of how the informer is used to subvert democracy.

HERE IS the full, documented story (reprinted from The Nation) of how the informer gets into the "business"—including case histories of the most notorious informers; how the informer is used by Congressional committees, and in the courts, to set the stage for sensational smears and frame-ups.

YOU CAN HAVE "The Informer" FREE as part of a special new-subscriber offer which will bring you The Nation at the special low price of

ONLY $3 FOR FORTY WEEKS

(A saving of $5 over the single-copy price)

The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, NYC 14

Please enter my subscription for the next 40 weeks for $3 and send me my free copy of "The Informer." MI

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS to The Nation include such outstanding political analysts as: W. MacMahon Ball, Carolus, Bruce Catton, J. Alvarez Del Vayo, Mark Gayn, Matthew Josephson, Robert S. Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Kingsley Martin, Frederick L. Schuman, Edgar Snow, H. H. Wilson, Alexander Werth and Konni Zilliacus.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S.A. — 1954 . . . *Report By*

Leo Huberman — "The Repression"
Scott Nearing — "The Resistance"
Paul M. Sweezy — "The Economy"

Chairman: Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Date: Thursday May 20, at 8:30 P.M. sharp
Place: Capitol Hotel, 8th Avenue and 51st Street

Admission: In advance, $1 . . . . At door, $1.25 . . . . Associates, Free

Bring your friends. Write for tickets now to
MR Associates, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

(*continued from inside front cover*)

And while we're on the subject of circulation, let us introduce you to our new Introductory Trial Subscription scheme. We offer *to any nonsubscriber* an introductory six-month sub for only $1. Leo Huberman and Scott Nearing have been trying out this idea on audiences throughout the country, with very encouraging results. We are convinced that a big push by existing subscribers to enlist new subscribers under this scheme can result in a sharp increase in total circulation. *We ask each and every one of you to make it a personal responsibility to sell at least one trial sub during this month of May.* What better birthday present could there be than a doubling of circulation? Handy subscription forms will be found on the back cover. (Remember that this offer holds only for *new* subscriptions.)

We note with sorrow the death of our very good friend Shaemas O'Sheel on April 2nd. Shaemas was a frequent contributor to the pages of MR, but even more important to us were his unflagging interest and encouragement. For several years we have looked forward to receiving Shaemas's "review" letter after every issue, beautifully written, ladling out praise and censure with an equally liberal but never impartial hand, warning us of the diabolic machinations afoot in the ruling class, and cheering us on to renewed offorts. The greatest tribute we can pay to Shaemas O'Sheel—and we are sure he would have accepted it as such—is to say that in this age of doubt and backsliding he was and remained a socialist to the tips of his fingers and the marrow of his bones.

A number of readers have inquired about the status of the witch hunt in New Hampshire. The answer is: no change. Paul Sweezy remains under subpoena. As we write, the constitutionality of the enabling legislation is still before the state supreme court, and presumably further developments await the court's decision. We will report further developments on what Wall Street calls an "if, as, and when" basis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tell Your Friends About MR's New Bargain Offer

SIX-MONTH TRIAL SUB - ONLY $1

With this issue Montly Review begins its sixth year of publication. When Vol. I, No. I, appeared in May 1949 we had a circulation of exactly 494. Today it is over 6,000—and still growing. That, you will agree, is a tribute to the quality of MR, but we are not content. We want to reach other thousands who could profit from MR—if only they knew about it.

WILL YOU SPREAD THE WORD?

With our limited capital, it is impossible for us to advertise on an adequate scale. We must rely on you, our readers, to spread the word. We ask each of you to sell at least one trial sub NOW. Remember this is an INTRODUCTORY offer which holds only for NEW subscriptions.

Suggested Order Form

MONTHLY REVIEW, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

I enclose ..... dollars to pay for ..... six-month trial subs at $1 each, to go to the following:

1. Name..... Street.....
   City..... Zone..... State.....
2. Name..... Street.....
   City..... Zone..... State.....
3. Name..... Street.....
   City..... Zone..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED